1; Cunningham G-3 (1846-47) 1854 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

582 woman; while the Ladáki girl is rarely married before
165 she is about seventeen or eighteen years of age. The advantage of this practice is best appreciated by a reference to the tables of longevity, which show that for every Balti woman who reaches the patriarchal age of threescore years and ten, there are no less than three Ladáki septagenarian ladies. That this difference is not due to the climate, or to particular customs which might affect both sexes, is further shown by the same tables; from which we learn that for every Balti man who reaches seventy years of age there are only two Ladákis. The difference must therefore be due to some cause which affects the women only; and this cause I presume to be the very early marriages of the Musalmani females.

II.—ORIGIN.

• 174 The Botis, or Bhotiyas,* are usually considered as a distinct race of people, chiefly I believe on account of their peculiar language. But this peculiarity must have been partly produced by their isolated position, and partly by the few wants of a poor people; as both of these causes must have operated against the introduction and naturalization of foreign words. Regarding their origin, therefore, nothing but a conjecture can be
144 hazarded. Judging from their language and features, which have much in common with those of the Chinese, the Botis must be pronounced to be an offshoot of the
177 great Mongolian race; and all differences, both physical

* *Bhotiya* is the Hindu name. The Tibetans call themselves *Botpa*, *Bod-pa*. The name is most probably derived from their profession of Buddhism, *Bauddha* being the designation of a Buddhist.

796 527 FESTIVAL--tooschhen or dooschhen, or zhákzáng a public holiday or festival; geywa or stonmo festivals in remembrance of the dead; stanmo a fair. The Ladákis are very fond of fairs and festivals, as these afford opportunities for much merriment and chhang drinking, to both of which the Ladákis are much addicted. The principal festivals are as follows:--Dosmóchey, Lósir, SHoophla, Rgustor, Heymis-TsheySHoo, Guroo-TsheySHoo, and MaSHo-NaGHrang.

796 The "Dosmóchey" is the religious or Lámáistic "New Year's day" festival. It falls on the 1st day of the 1st month of the Tibetan year (corresponding to about 15th January), and is kept up for five days. At Leh, this festival is observed just [643] as in the old days of the Ladák Rajas. The ex-Raja assumes royal dignities, and lives in the palace, at the head of the Leh bazar. He is surrounded by Lamas, sowars, singers and dancers, as well as by all the leading men of the country, and the 5 days are passed in praying, feasting, dancing, singing and horse-racing.

796 174 The Lósir, as shown by the name, is the real national "New Year's day." It was probably observed in days prior to the introduction of Buddhism into Ladák. It is looked on with disfavour by the Lamas. It is celebrated in Ladák on 28th, 29th, 30th of the 10th month, and on 1st and 2nd of the 11th month (corresponding to about 15th December). No one quite knows how it happens that the New Year's Day comes a month before the end of the year; some explain it by saying a mistake has occurred in the calendar calculations; others think that the Lamas, when they instituted their Dosmóchey, or religious New Year's Day, altered the date of the Lósir, so that the two festivals might not fall together; and another explanation is that in olden times a great defeat was suffered by the Ladák king, at the hands of Lhasa soldiers, on the 1st day, of the 1st month, and that for that reason, that day was regarded as unlucky, and the "Lósir" was fixed for the time at which it is [44] now [171] held. There is a curious similarity between the European and Tibetan customs, in connection with this period of the year, i.e., the end of the old year (including Christmas day) and the commencement of the new year.

796 592 On the 1st night of the "Lósir," Ladákis illuminate their houses, offer up sacrifices, and decorate their doorways and houses with boughs of the evergreen juniper. The father or eldest

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

subterranean tombs, with rough masonry walls, which are occasionally uncovered by the slip or break of the ground, are sometimes attributed by the Láhaulis to these Tartars."

After the break up of the Delhi Empire, the Rájas of Ladákh continued to pay the tribute to the Sikh governor of Kashmír till their country was conquered and annexed to the Punjáb in A. D. 1835 by a Dográ force under *wazír* Zoráwar, sent by Rájas Dhián Singh and Golab Singh Jamúwála.

History of Láhaul.

The district of Láhaul finds historic mention as early as the seventh century of our era, being alluded to as a district to the north-east of Kúlu by the Chinese pilgrim Hwen Thsang under the name of *Lo-hu-lo*, "which is clearly the *Lho-yul* of the Tibetans and the *Láhul* of the people of Kúlu and other neighbouring States." * It is probable that the country was from the earliest times a dependency of Tibet, its population being mainly of Tibetan origin, and its name, translated by Mr. Lyall, "southern district," affording in itself a clear indication of its subjection in early times to a northern power.† When the Tibetan Empire was broken up in the tenth century,‡ Láhaul was probably included in the kingdom of Ladákh formed out of the wreck by a chieftain named Palgi Gan. In what manner and at what time its separation from Ladákh took place, it is impossible to ascertain; but the traditions of the Láhaulis go to show that the separation is of long standing, and the following facts seem to prove that it took place before the second consolidation of the Ladákh kingdom under Chovang Námgyál, ancestor of the last dynasty of kings in Ladákh, which took place in A.D. 1580 or 1600. In the notice of the provinces acquired by him and his successor, Singhi Námgyál, some time between A.D. 1580 and 1660, and those divided among his sons by the latter (given in Cunningham's Ladákh from historical documents preserved by the Lámá) Láhaul is never mentioned, though Zánskár and Spiti, which lie to the north and north-east of Láhaul, and almost separate it from the rest of Ladákh, are mentioned when acquired, and also as forming the share of the kingdom allotted to Singhi Námgyál's third son. It is probable that in the confusion preceding the reconsolidation of the Ladákh kingdom by Chovang Námgyál, Láhaul became independent, and remained for a short time governed by *thákurs* or petty barons of small clusters of villages. Four or five of these families have survived up to the present day, and are still in possession of their original territories which they hold in *jágír*, subject to payment of tribute or *nazrána*. The tradition of a period of government by petty independent *thákurs* is in every one's mouth in Láhaul, and the vividness and particularity of the traditions show that they do not date from any very remote times. Mr. Lyall writes:—

"It is not likely, however, that this period of perfect independence was a long one, and I surmise that soon after its separation from Ladákh, the

* Cunningham. Anc. Geog., Vol. I., p. 142.

† Not necessarily to the kingdom of Ladákh, as supposed by Mr. Lyall; for this kingdom was not, according to General Cunningham, founded until the break up of the Tibetan Empire in the tenth century, whereas the name is certainly as old as the seventh.

‡ Cunningham.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Chapter II. History. History of Láhaul.

whole of Láhaul became tributary to the Rája of Chamba, and that the part now forming British Láhaul was subsequently transferred from Chamba to Kúlu. I have remarked points in one or two Láhaul traditions which support this view, and would agree with the account given by the present representative of the Kúlu Rája's family according to which his ancestor in the seventh generation, Rája Bidhi Singh, acquired Láhaul from Chamba. There is no reason, I think, to doubt the correctness of the account as to time, and it fixes the date of the first acquisition of British Láhaul by Kúlu at about 200 years ago. The Rájas of Chamba must have conquered the country before A.D. 1600, or Chovang Námgyál would have annexed it to Ladákh, but they must have governed through the *thákurs* and interfered very little, or there would be clearer traces of their seventy or eighty years' rule in the Láhaul traditions. As I have said before, I believe the Kúlu Rája's account to be correct as to time; but the explanation given in it, that Bidhi Singh got Láhaul as dower with a princess of the Chamba family, is generally discredited as a boastful attempt to increase the honour of the family by the invention of an alliance to which the Rája of Chamba would never have condescended. Moreover, it seems quite opposed to all custom for a Hindú Rája to give territory as dower with a daughter, and the story is not told by the people, who, if asked, say that they imagine Láhaul must have been forcibly annexed. No doubt that was the case, and from that time the history of Láhaul is included in that of the Kúlu principality. Budh or Bidhi Singh was son of Rája Jaggat Singh, who was a contemporary of Sháh Jahán and Aurangzíb, and the date of the acquisition may therefore be placed approximately at 1700 A.D."

It would appear, however, that subsequently to this the Láhaulis continued to pay a small annual tribute to Ladákh, probably to avert forays and to keep the roads open for trade. Indeed the Láhaulis, without orders, continued to pay this tribute to the governor at Léh up to 1862, when our Government, being informed of the fact, prohibited its payment in future. Moorcroft says in his travels that four villages in Láhaul in his time (A. D. 1820) paid revenue to the Gialpo of Ladákh, though they acknowledged military fealty to the Rája of Kúlu. He mentions that Thákur Dharam Singh, of Keylang, was then the officer in charge of the country, and was treated with profound respect by the people, Mr. Lyall says:—"This I can well believe, as I have never seen deeper respect shown anywhere to any one than was shown to his son *thákur* Tárá Chand, the late *wazír*, by the Láhaulis when I first knew them." Láhaul passed under British rule in 1846, together with Kúlu to which it was subject.

History of Spiti.

After the first formation of the kingdom of Ladákh, Spiti appears to have now and again been separated from it for a time, and attached to some other short-lived Tibetan principality, or to the country governed from Lhásá itself. It was perhaps independent for a time, as it is mentioned in the records procured from the *lámás* by General Cunningham as conquered by Singhi Námgyál, king of Ladákh, in about A.D. 1630, and, allotted by him, with Zánskár, to his third son, Tenchog, in about A. D. 1660. Soon after, it was incorporated in the Guge principality, which lay to the east, in what is now Chinese Tibet, and was not restored to Ladákh till about A. D. 1720, when the king of Ladákh, at the conclusion of a war with Guge and Lhásá, married the daughter of the Lhásá com-

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

mander, and took Spiti as her dowry. After this[1] Spiti remained a province of Ladákh, but from its remote and inaccessible situation the country was always left very much to govern itself. An official was sent from Léh as *garpón* or governor, but he generally disappeared after visits paid at harvest time, and left the real administration to be carried on by the *wazír* and other hereditary officers of Spiti, who again were completely controlled by the parliament of *gatpos* or *lambardárs* of villages and *tappas*. This is the state of affairs described in Moorcroft's and Gerard's Travels as existing near fifty years ago, and, with the exception of the absence of the *garpón*, affairs are managed in much the same way at the present day. Spiti was always liable to be worried by foraya. Gerard mentions that in A.D. 1776, or thereabouts, the Basáharís held the fort of Dankar for two years; and in Moorcroft's Travels Mr. Trebeck gives an account of a foray which had been made just before his visit by a large body of armed men from Kúlu. The Spiti people were not a warlike race, and paid a small tribute to all the surrounding States by way of black mail to escape being plundered. After the Sikhs had annexed Kúlu in 1841, they sent up a force to plunder Spiti. The Spiti men, according to their usual tactics, retreated into the high uplands, leaving their houses in the valley and the monasteries to be plundered and burnt. A few straggling plunderers from the Sikh force who ventured up too high were surprised and killed, and a few men were wounded on either side in skirmishes. The Sikhs retired when they had got all the plunder they could get, and did not attempt to annex the country to Kúlu or separate it from Ladákh. That was not done till A. D. 1846, when on the cession of the trans-Satlaj States after the first Sikh war, the British Government, with the object of securing a road to the wool districts of Cháng Thág, added Spiti to Kúlu and gave the Jammu Mahárája other territory in exchange. In the autumn of the same year General (then Captain) Cunningham and Mr. Vans-Agnew fixed the boundary between Spiti and Ladákh and Chinese Tibet. For the first three years the collection of revenue was farmed to Mansukh Dás, *wazír* of the Rája of Basáhir. In the autumn of 1849, Major Hay, Assistant Commissioner of Kúlu, went to Spiti and took over charge. He spent the best part of the winter there, and submitted a valuable report, which was printed by order of Government: in it and in a tour in Spiti, published by Mr. Egerton, Deputy Comissioner of Kángra in 1864, a very full description of the country will be found.

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[1] [i.e., the year 1720 --Analyst]

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[QUOTE FROM Rev. Heyde] [Punjab Gazetteer,

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reigned over Gúge and some other provinces of Ladákh), exercised a great influence in the matter, and were zealously engaged in propagating and establishing the Buddhist religion, especially in Láhaul. When, under their rule, crimes or smaller offences had been committed by Láhaulis, the offenders were punished by making them build religious monuments. Thus, for instance, all the *manis* and many of the *chhodtens* which are so common by the road-sides in Láhaul were originally built in accordance with a sentence by convicted offenders in expiation of their misdeeds.* According to Csoma-de-Körös and others, Buddhism was established in Tibet in the seventh century of our era,† and from thence and Ladákh it was no doubt introduced into Spiti and Láhaul, but probably to a small extent only up to the time of the king of Gúge before mentioned. I am unable to fix the date when the Gúge chiefs ruled over Kárja (the Tibetan name for Láhaul), the native accounts being too uncertain.

● 194 779 177 782 776

"Without doubt there existed a very low kind of religion in Láhaul before Buddhism got hold of the people, and the latter has not been able to suppress it entirely. That early religion of Láhaul is still known under the name of *Lung pachhoi*, that is, the religion of the valley. When it was flourishing, many bloody, and even human, sacrifices seem to have been regularly offered up to certain *lhá*, that is, gods or evil spirits, residing in or near old pencil-cedar trees, rocks, caves, &c. This cruel custom disappeared gradually after the doctrine of the Buddhists had influenced for a time the minds of the people. There is a story which I shall relate, as it seems to show that this was the case: Near the village of Keylang a large dry pencil cedar was standing till last year, when we felled it for fire-wood: the story goes that before this tree, in ancient times, a child of eight years old was annually sacrificed to make the spirit who resided in it well-disposed towards the inhabitants of Keylang. The children seem to have been supplied in turn by the different families of the village. It happened one year to be a widow who had to give up an only child of the required age of eight years. The day before her only one was to be taken from her she was crying loudly, when a travelling *lámá* from Tibet met her, and asked the cause of her distress. Having heard her story the *lámá* said: 'Well, I will go instead of your child.' He did so but did not allow himself to be killed: 'the spirit must kill me himself if he wants human flesh,' said he, so saying he sat himself down before the tree and waited for a long time; but as the demon made no attack on him, he became angry, took down from the tree the signs and effigies, and threw them into the Bhága river, telling the people not to sacrifice any more human beings, which advice was followed from that time forward. The demon fled and settled on the top of the Koko pass, where it still dwells under the name of the Keylang *lhá* or god of Keylang, getting now only the annual sacrifice of a sheep supplied by the shepherds.

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* A *máni* is a long, low and broad wall or dyke of dry stone masonry covered with slabs or round smooth pebbles, on which the prayer *Om máni padme hum*' is carved. Some in Spiti are near half a mile in length. A *chhodten* is a tall pyramidical monument, dedicated to Buddha, or containing the ashes of some Buddhist saint or holy man. The carved stones on the *manis* are made by the monks in the winter. They sell many to persons who wish to place one or more upon a *máni* in fulfilment of a vow, or in support of a prayer. Mr. Heyde means that the offender built the walls, not that they put the carved stones on them. Prayer-wheels turned by water are commonly to be seen outside villages in Láhaul and Spiti.

194 † Great Tibet ought to be read for Tibet, for in Ládákh or Western Tibet Buddhism appears to have been established many centuries before. General Cunningham puts its first introduction into Ladákh at B. C. 240, and its first firm establishment there at some time during the first century before Christ.

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

In the time when the *Lung pachhai* was the only religion that existed in the valley, there were doubtless more places in Láhaul where human beings were immolated to supposed gods and evil spirits. At present, near not a few villages sheep and goats are yearly killed and offered up (contrary to the precepts of Buddhism) to evil-disposed *lhás*, and it may be that animals have now taken the place of men.

"Long after the introduction of the Buddhist religion into Láhaul, Hindús immigrated from Kángra, Kúlu, Chamba, &c., but not in large numbers. One, two or more of them at a time settled as strangers among the tolerant Buddhists, chiefly in the Chandra Bhága valley. They seem to have been Hindús of both high and low castes; some of them came five, six or more generations ago, others later. Not a few of them, I was told, had been bad characters, who, having committed murder or theft, or run away with other people's wives, &c., fled into the then obscure Láhaul in order to escape punishment. The regular and frequent commercial intercourse which the Láhaulis have always maintained with the neighbouring Hindú provinces and the influence of these immigrated Hindús, have always had some Hindúising effect on the religion of Láhaul, but this became still more the case when the province was governed for a time by the Hindú Rájas of Kúlu. It was probably then that the Láhaulis commenced to profess to keep caste, denied that they were in the habit of eating beef, &c.; their mode of dressing also underwent some change; the round cap worn by the natives of Kúlu is said to have come into general use in Láhaul at this time.

"Regarding religion the Láhaulis may be divided into four classes: (1), pure Buddhists; (2), pure Hindús; (3), and a class who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism; 4, Lohárs and Shipís or Dágis.

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"The Lohárs consider themselves of a higher caste than the Shipís, but both are said by the other Láhaulis to have no religion at all; still they have certain rites which are performed in cases of sickness, burials, &c. For instance, I was present one day by the sick bed of a Lohár, and saw a Shipí profess to charm away the disease by biting off the ears and tearing to pieces with his teeth a black kid which had been previously shot with a gun. The Shipís eat beef openly, while the Lohárs say they do not at all.

"Those who profess both Buddhism and Hindúism live in the villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál downwards. They maintain two or three small *gonpas* (monasteries), and abjure beef, even that of the *yak*. In cases of severe illness, &c., they call in *lámás* and Bráhmans, who perform their respective rites at one and the same time; their leaning is stronger towards Buddhism than Bráhmanism.

"The pure Hindús are only found in a few villages on both banks of the Chandra Bhága; nearly all of them are recognized in Láhaul, Kúlu, &c., as a set of low Bráhmans. Occasionally they will drink a cup of tea with the Buddhists and their half-brethren, but, as a rule, they refrain from eating with them.

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"The pure Buddhists may be said to live in the villages on the Chandra from old Khoksar to Gondla, and on the Bhága from Gúrú Ghantál up to Dárcha and Rerig. They have about eight small *gonpas* in which the chief image is that of Chom-dan-dás (—Shakya Thabba—Sangyás—Buddha), before which a *lámá* daily burns incense, and places offerings of dried and fresh flowers, grain, and water, and burns a lamp throughout the year. In several of these monasteries there are to be found a number of religious books. Besides Sangyás, special reverence is paid by the Láhaul, Spiti, Ladákh, and Tibet Buddhists in general to Avalokiteswára, called Chan-re-zig or Prágopa in Tibetan (worshipped at Triloknáth), and Pádma Pani, commonly called Lobpon in Tibetan, who is revered at the lake of Rawálsir

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T 197 194 In the Shayog-valley a development from type No. I to type No. IV can be observed which is very similar to that of the Indus valley.

The dialect of Zangskhar is related to type No. I; only the north-western districts show traces of type No. III.

The dialect of Rubshu is of an entirely different character altogether; it is closely related to the Central Tibetan dialects and exhibits the Tibetan tone system in its full development (compare my article on Amundsen's and the native grammarian's tone system in Z. D. M. G., Vol. 57, p. 285.) But the tone system has not yet become quite extinct in the Indus valley, although the bad Tibetan of Indian and Yarkandi traders has done much harm to it.

Conclusion: From the above tables of dialects it becomes evident that the farther we advance towards north-west, down the Indus-valley, the more the pronunciation of the dialects is in agreement with the written language; or, in other words, the north-western dialects represent a more archaic state of the Tibetan language.

T D 174 *The Dard question of West-Tibet.* Other researches have shown me that the north-western portions of Ladakh, at least as far up as *Saspola* in the Indus-valley, were once peopled by Dard tribes which have been tibetanized only recently. The reasons are: (1) the historical recollections of the people. (2) The Dard names of many *pha-spun*ships. (3) Remnants of the Dard language in those districts. (4) Dard customs in those districts.

Thus it can be shown, for instance, that Khalatse (Khalsi or Khalchi of the maps) used to be a Dard village in ancient times, although now-a-days at first sight it appears to be thoroughly Tibetan.

(1) According to the historical recollections of its present inhabitants Khalatse used to be a Dard colony from Gilgit.

T D 174 614 (2) The *pha-spun*ships. *Pha-spun* means 'father-brothers.' The members of a *pha-spun*ship have to burn the dead in their own *pha-spun*ship. My explanation of this is the following: In the ancient times the near relatives (father, brothers, etc.) had to bury the dead. All the members of a *pha-spun*ship of the present day go back to one and the same family of ancient times.

The *pha-spun*ships of Khalatse are the following:

(*a*) Brushalpa: It comprises the following six families: Khrolepa, rGyamthsopa, Sherabpa, Ralupa, Gongmapa, bKrashis beamphelpa.

(*b*) Pakorapa: It comprises the following nine families: Sabipa aNumpa, Bhandrepa, rKangchagpa, Grong dponpa, Dragchospa, Grambucanpa, Byabapa, rKyallupa.

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(*c*) Mi dponpa: It comprises the following two families: Phanba, Kadcanpa. (The Tingdzinpa-family originated when a younger brother separated himself from the Kadcanpa family.)

(*d*) Rab blonpa: It comprises the following three families: bSod rnams phelpa, Bragcanpa, Skamburpa.

Besides those mentioned, there are three families which do not belong to any *pha-spunship*: Mon, Bhedapa and Starapa.

More families do not exist at Khalatse.

As regards the *Brushalpa*, they have taken their name from the village of Brushal near Gilgit, and they know for certain that their forefathers were colonists from Gilgit.

The *Pakorapa* also know that their forefathers once emigrated from the vicinity of Gilgit. Pakor is a Dard word meaning 'meadow.' Compare my Bono-na-songs, No. II.

Thus we see that out of 21 families which are members of *pha-spunships*, 16 trace their origin from the neighbourhood of Gilgit, which has remained Dard to the present day.

Mi dponpa means 'lord of men' and *Rab blonpa* means 'state-minister.' These two *pha-spunships* may go back to the Tibetan conquest of Khalatse, when their forefathers were perhaps the Tibetan lords of the Dard population.

From all this we see that the Dards, the lords of the country before the Tibetan conquest, were only colonists from Gilgit. Whom did they find in the country on their arrival? Did they perhaps find a Mon and Bheda population? All this I cannot solve.

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(3) *Remnant of the Dard language.*—It is most interesting that in one house of the Brushalpa, in the house Gongmapa, a last remnant of the Dard language has survived until the present day. On New Year's day when a new branch of the pencil-cedar is placed on the house-altar, the prayer is rendered in Dardi, because the spirit of the house is supposed to understand this language only. This is the prayer:

Dargyassi di zha nomo hla zhuni
Shuni bi zha nomo hla zhuni
Sinani bi zha nomo hla zhuni

As a Tibetan translation this is given:

ངས་རྒྱས་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་ལྟ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་དེ།
ཤུ་ཀྱི་བོ་ཅ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་དེ།
ངས་གྲི་ཀྱི་སྤྱན་ལྟ་སྐྱེས་ཀྱི་དེ།།

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The following is my attempt at a restoration of the text according to the Dard-dialect of Da:

Dargyassi de tija namo hla zhuni
Shuni bhi tija namo hla zhuni
Sinani bhi tija namo hla zhuni

Translation:

Give abundance! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
Crops also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!
A son also! Honour to thee, oh god Zhuni!

Notes on the Dard text:

Dar-rgyas is a Tibetan synonym compositum meaning about 'abundance;' *di* was probably in course of time contracted from *de*, give, and *ti*, thee; *tisha* or *tija* means 'to thee,' *zha* and *ja* are frequently used terminations of the dative case; *nomo* instead of *namo* is a case of assimilation of the vowel of the first syllable to that of the second syllable; *namo* as well as *nomo* often occur in the sense of 'glory, honour' in the Bono-na-songs, Ladakhi Songs, No. XXXI ff; *hla* is the Tibetan *lha*, a Pre-Buddhist god; *Zhuni* is the proper name of the house god. *Shuni* means 'harvest'; *bi* is supposed to be the same as Urdu *bhi*, meaning 'also.' Also in the second and third lines the *ti* of *tisha* was lost in the preceding word. The *ni* in *sinani* is the emphatic syllable of Tibetan.

(4) *Dard customs.*—To the present day the Māmani-festival is considered as a Dard custom. It is held 1½ months after the 21st of December. In Khalatse it is celebrated in this way:—Cooked heads of goats and sheep, and omelettes called *ten ten*, are brought before an ancient row of *mchod rten* (mchod rtengyi sgang) which goes back to Dard times, and a feast is given to everybody who will partake in it. Strangers are welcome.

Also the Ladakhi music and art of dancing is so entirely different from Tibetan music and dancing that non-Tibetan influences must be suspected here. In Ladakhi music, besides the Chinese scale,—classical scales are in frequent use. Of classical scales I have discovered the following in my collection of Ladakhi tunes: Ionian, Aeolian, Lydian, Mixo-Lydian. It is easier to believe that these scales came here through a Dard channel than from Tibet. Although the metre of the Tibetan Ladakhi songs is almost invariably trochaic, the metre of the Ladakhi tunes is iambic.

I have tried to prove the Dard origin of one single West Tibetan village only. It would probably be easy to accumulate similar reasons

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Dard AV3

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to prove that the whole of Lower Ladakh was Dard before the Tibetan conquest, and I hope that in the next Census special attention will be paid to the *pha-spun*ships. The only colony, which has remained entirely Dard to the present day, is the colony of Da and its neighbourhood. The Dards of Dras are not Dard colonists apparently, but have always been in direct connection with the Dard population of Gilgit.

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Now I shall repeat once more that it is interesting to note that the most archaic type of Tibetan pronunciation is found in territories where Tibetan was a foreign language for a long time.

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From my limited knowledge of languages I may add two parallels: In Hanover where one of the purest Teutonic tribes is found in Germany, the development of the German language has been more rapid than in the southern mountainous districts, for instance, in Tirol or Styria, where there used to be a Celtic and Slav population before the advent of the Germans. The language of the Slav tribe of the Wends, between Berlin and Bautzen is in certain respects one of the most archaic Slav languages living. It is one of those few living Aryan languages which still make use of the Dual; and the Wends have been largely mixed with Germans.

On the other hand, I can give two examples, which would prove the contrary. French is one of the most advanced types of Roman speech (in the garb of its modern pronunciation); but here the Roman language was accepted by an originally Celtic population.—Hebrew is a far more advanced type of Semitic speech than Arabic, and yet the Jews were settlers among a partially non-Semitic population.

Thus apparently geographical and other questions will have to be taken into consideration; but it would certainly be an interesting task to examine those conditions which work for a speedy or a slow development not only of the Tibetan language, but of languages in general.

10: Francke M-5 (no date) 1901 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

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Notes on the Tibetan Text.[1]

Nyopa, buyer, because the bride was bought in ancient times. The salutation in classical language *Om škraskiepar, etc.*, is exchanged after each strophe, but will not be repeated in these pages.

I. A. In all verses *ci'i don* means literally : it is the meaning of what ? II. B. As regards the meaning of names and general position of the heads of the Pre-Buddhist cosmology, see my paper on the Késar-Myth in *Mémoires de la Société Finno-ougrienne*, 1900, No. XV. The syllable *sam* I was first inclined to translate by 'or,' but people told me, that they understood it to mean 'think,' in favour of which might be pointed to the people's response : Well thought, you mighty friends. In v. 4, 5, 6, and 7 the gods, who govern the four directions, are mentioned.

They are the properly Tibetan *lôkapâlas*. In Lamaism three of them have become *Dhyâṇibuddhas*, whilst *rDorje sems dp'a* has become their president. That their relationship to the four points of the globe has not yet quite been lost in Lamaism, is shown by the *Padmathanyig*, see Grünwedel, *Mythologie des Buddhismus*, pp. 98, 99.

The names in literal translation mean : — 4. 'The thunderbolt with the courageous soul.' 5. 'The producer of great price.' 6. 'Fulfiller of the aim, he has.' 7. 'Eternal light.' With the exception of 6, all the names point plainly to the different manifestations of the sun. 7 in particular goes back to the idea, that the West is the receptacle of all the suns, which have been born up to the present day. This idea is too natural a one to have been imported from Persia. Instead of *ma shus* the original rendering was probably *ma shu*, the imperative being used for the optative. 8. *rTselha*, god of the summit. 9. *Yulthes*, village idol. 10. *Phalha*, god of the fathers, *i. e.*, family.

Notes on the English Translation.[1]

It might be well to say a few words about the scene, which forms the background of the songs. The **Nyopas** (*i. e.*, friends of the bridegroom, who were sent to buy the bride) come on horseback and clad in gorgeous dress (*vide* Plate) before the house of the bride and ask for entrance. This is refused to them unless they are able to answer certain questions. All the people of the house are armed with sticks and the *Nyopas* are beaten unmercifully as soon as they fail to prove their respectable origin by answering the questions satisfactorily. The people of the house light a fire of the wood of the pencil cedar and concerning the smoke of this the first questions are asked.

After the questions regarding the principal deities have been settled, in 8, 9, and 10 the local deities come in. Though in ancient times idols do not seem to have had a place in the Bon Religion, we can see how the idea gradually crept in. As we know from the Késar-Myths, the lha's or gods used to visit the earth frequently. High hills became known as places of the gods' descent, and to honour them properly, white altars were erected. By and by these altars or lhatho's were considered as being the dwelling places of certain *lha's* and at last the idea was developed, that wherever a *lhatho* was erected, a *lha* would soon take his seat. So we have a *lha* on the hill (near the castle) in 8, and the family (father) *lha* in 10. In 9 the word *thes* might point to a rough idol, compare Jäschke's *Dict. theathes*. All of them have the epithet *snyanpo* = well sounding.

Song No. II.

A.

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II. A. legs beams dbangi nyebo.
nangmas.

1. phurn yar ysigs 'ang
gangs chu dkarpo de
su dang ganggi chang.

II. A. Well thought, you mighty friends.
People of the house say :

1. Look over there to the upper valley !
That white glacier water,
What and whose beer is it ?

[1] [Cf pp. 133-135, category 116 -- Analyst]

[1] [Cf pp. 136a and 136b, category 116 -- ANALYST]

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER II

The Past Story of Ladak

A VERY cursory glance at the country suffices to show how ancient their civilization must be. Almost every village has its ruins of castle or fort or monastery, perched up on the rocky hillside in apparently inaccessible positions, and in most places will be found the village bard who can recount strange tales of long ago, often breaking out into song in the course of his narrative. But there are many written records, too, for the Buddhist lamas have inscribed the happenings of olden times with golden ink on beautifully polished black paper (in fairy-land surely all records are kept in gold !), and Kings have acquired much merit for themselves by building long prayer walls, and much gratitude from the student of historical research by inserting a tablet of stone on which the name of the builder and certain valuable bits of historical information are engraved. By the laborious study of such records Dr. Francke, the modern historian of Western Tibet, has been able to piece together a connected, albeit fragmentary history of the country. A brief glance at this will give us the historical background necessary for the understanding of present conditions in Ladak.

The first mention of the country seems to have been made by Herodotus, who describes a land of wonderful ants, who in burrowing out their homes in the earth threw up gold. These ants were said to be nearly as large as dogs, and still more ferocious. with a keen sense of smell and great fleetness of

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

foot. This made it very difficult for the Indians who wanted the gold to obtain it, and the only method found possible was to fetch the gold day by day when the ants slept, and bear it away on swift horses. Ants said to be of this wonderful species, were pointed out to Dr. Francke, but they must have considerably shrunk since the days of their fame, for they were now of normal size. But what sort of people inhabited the land in these ancient times? Doubtless, the first dwellers were Tibetan nomads, who wandered about on the immense upland plains of the Himalayas with their large flocks of sheep, goats, and yaks, moving on from pasture to pasture as they still do, so slowly does the East change.

Even now one need go only as far as the Chantang, some ten marches from Leh, to see just the same pictur as these far-off days presented. Still each family has its fu ..y little black tent, woven of yak's hair, and with a large hole in the roof to let out the smoke, for the food is cooked on an open fire within. Two or three families settle down with their herds in one place until the grass is exhausted, when they move on to the next grazing ground. Abraham in his day must ha[illegible] lived similarly on a larger scale. These nomads were probably adherents of the old religion, called the "Bon Chos," from which arise the elements of demon-worship in the Lamaism of to-day. About this time Indian Buddhism was manifesting a keen missionary spirit, and sending out men to spread its doctrine and enlightenment far and wide. Among those some came to the Western Himalayas leaving traces of religion which had come up direct from India, not *via* Tibet. Thus on a medical tour to the neighbouring province of Zankskar, a village was found where almost every fourth man wore the yellow saffron robe of the down-country Buddhist priest. The descendants of these early missionaries called Mons are still plentiful in the land, yet they have remained quite distinct from the original inhabitants. If you want a door made, you must fetch the Mon carpenter. If you want to hear of the brave

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

actions of the mythical "King Kesar," it is the Mon musician who will tell you about them, interspersing his story with song. If you have to arrange for a wedding, or any sort of *bodmo* (entertainment) you must not omit to call the Mon drummer, who will sustain the enthusiasm of your guests by beating his queer little kettle drum. It is strange how these people have lived in the country for so many centuries without absorption, but although caste does not exist here in the sense it does in India, it often crops up in questions of marriage and a *Bod* (Tibetan Buddhist) must not marry a Mon.

The next people to arrive in the land were the Dards, who seem to have emigrated from the district of Gilgit, and they, too, have preserved a separateness through the centuries, having a distinct dress of their own, nor, although they are called Buddhists, does their Buddhism quite conform with that obtaining in the rest of Ladak. Later when we meet them on tour, we shall have more to tell about these interesting folk.

We may now leave behind us the history based on conjecture and turn to that founded on written records either inscribed on parchment or engraved on stone, the chroniclers being the priests, reminding us of the priestly scribes of our own past history. Before William the Conqueror landed in England, a great religious struggle was in progress, both in Central and in Western Tibet. The relations between these two kingdoms have always been rather close. The opposing faiths were the old *Bon Chos*, consisting mainly of demon-worship, and the later Buddhism. The latter was waxing stronger, but the older religion still looked to one, Langdarma, to revive their ancient worship. Langdarma had really been heir to the Tibetan throne, but had been disinherited on account of his adherence to the old faith, and his younger brother had obtained the kingship. Langdarma, however, managed to dispose of the latter, took the crown, and laid a heavy hand on the Buddhist monasteries and priests, but his

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ordinary walk, twirling their prayer-wheels and mumbling their *Om mani's* as they go. Strange pathetic little humans they are, set in a vast panorama of snow-covered mountains with giant peaks soaring up into the silences of the clear blue sky, and often in this frosty winter time tramping out their tiny track on a universal white mantle of snow. Then, too, above the temple which houses the "Byamspa" and on the same Tsemo, is another with three other deities. Round this is a most shockingly rickety verandah, which looks as if it might tumble down at the slightest provocation, and no doubt will do so some day. I myself have walked round this in fear and trembling, but now there is a column of men and women, one close on the heels of the other, and round and round the temple they walk, some turning prayer-wheels, and others saying the *Om mani.* Round and round they go until we feel giddy watching them. Even from below, right down in Leh, they can be seen circulating round their giddy parapet.

We now come to Spring, when everything is breaking out into fresh life. At this season the lamas of Sankar remain in their monastery for a whole month, during which special services are held. By this isolation they are deterred from taking life through stepping on insects as they pass along the roads. It is during this time that the service of making "*Chos spun*" is performed, which actually means the "making of the brethren of the religion." Those wishing to join this fraternity fast one whole day, during which they are not allowed to swallow even their own saliva. Then each man throws into a receptacle some personal belonging. The officiating priest takes these out in twos, thus making their owners spiritual brethren, after which ceremony, if one of them makes a feast, he must invite his brother, or if there is a festival, they must send one another presents.

A moveable ceremony is the celebration of the Buddhists' High Mass. Its general likeness to our Christian service makes one wonder whether Tibetan Buddhism did not get its

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

ritual from Catholic missionaries, who formerly passed through Tibet or were working on the Chinese border of this now closed land. The rosary, the ecclesiastical vestments and mitred hats are also very suggestive of this. Their own explanation can be found in the following story. Raschung, the disciple of the great saint and singer, Milaraspa, was told by his master to fast for seven days, after which he was to go to the bazar where he would meet a Yogi of the name of Tipu, whom he would recognize by the fact that his face was blue, and his conjunctivæ red. He also would be wearing the skin of a striped antelope, and would be holding his trumpet up towards heaven and blowing it. Having found and identified him, Tipu prophesied to Raschung that he would die in fourteen days. When Raschung returned to Milaraspa with this sad news, his master informed him that he had sent him to Tipu as he was aware of this fact, but that if he fasted another week and then went to the goddess "*Ma chig grube rgyalmo*," she might be prevailed upon to prolong his life. Having followed out these instructions, the goddess inquired from him how much longer he wished to live. He answered "Until I myself feel I wish to die." She granted his request, handing to him the secret of the mystical rites of prolonging life. He lived just as long again, and then departed from this existence when he was eighty-eight years, and at the same age as his master, Milaraspa, died. It is said that these rites have been handed down since then by a regular episcopal succession, the names of those succeeding being actually given.

The auspicious day having been decided on by the *Onpo*, there is to be a celebration in the compound next to our house, so we will go to watch it. Along the length of the private dwelling, which was built recently with a view to religious ceremonies taking place there, runs a verandah raised about five feet above the court-yard in front. In the centre sits the *Skushog* on cushions behind a low ornamented table, on which

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

Unfortunately this performance of breaking the boulder has twice led to fatalities in Ladak, by children trying to imitate it on one of their small companions.

But, besides the dancing of monks and magicians, Ladak has its own country dances for pure pleasure. Perhaps the ordinary women's dancing has a slight religious element, for in the course of it, the right hand is raised, and the gestures made to signify the plucking of a flower, the opening out of the bud into blossom, and then its presentation to the gods. But even these motions of the hand are said to originate in the old Dard custom of greeting each other by raising the arm, and moving the closed fist to and fro. The rest of the dance is very slow and monotonous, though Ladakis themselves never seem to tire of it, and it is performed on every festive occasion. The ladies certainly look quite picturesque with their broad well-turquoised *perags*, their gay capes, quaint turned-up embroidered shoes, and wristlets of chased silver or white shell, which they knock together in respectful salutation to the King, or presiding official, at the beginning and end of the dance. Their capes in winter are of long white sheeps' wool, covered on the outside with large squares of green and red cloth. In the heat of summer they are replaced by fringed capes with Kashmir or Yarkandi embroidery, or, better still, beautifully worked Chinese silk. The women who take part in these dances are members of a certain superior grade of the farming land-owners, each household of which has to provide a woman dancer for the King, who must come whenever he summons her. There is thus nothing of the immoral Indian nautch about this historical country dance. The services of these respectable women are especially exacted in winter, when for some days at the New Year and the festival of *Dosmoche* they must dance daily. In return for this they enjoy the food and festivities of the royal household. Formerly there were about thirty, now only seven usually turn out, who certainly cannot claim to have been

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

177 man holding a ruby, which it wishes to devour. It is formed
527 by a masked leader, from whom long coloured strips of thin
536 cloth pass backwards over other men, who hold up lighted Chinese lanterns on sticks inside it, all their feet representing the dragon's legs. It certainly looks fantastic enough, with its illuminated sinuous snake-like outline darting to and fro in the darkness.

These plays are varied with dances, such as a torch dance, of Indian origin, in which a bare-footed man rushes about twirling a long torch lighted at each end, getting more and more furious as the burning ends approach his body, and the drums beat faster. Of sword dances there are two or three varieties; a slow quiet rhythmical one by a Balti with one sword only; one by a Pathan, lithe and rapid, with a sword in each hand; another slower one, when a Ladaki wields two swords, while in a fourth, two Pathan dancers, each with sword and shield, approach from opposite corners, and engage in mock fight.
● 174 This dance has come down from old Ladaki times, when our
536 peaceful Tibetans here more resembled their Pathan neighbours, and were probably more fierce and warlike in their mountain fastnesses.

527 Another amusing scene which is usually played on these
536 occasions is the representation of a Kashmiri pundit, who is a settlement officer, and goes round the countryside measuring fields and assessing taxes. He and his underlings are caricatured with floured faces, and good humoured fun made of their bribing methods.

But, perhaps the masterpiece and certainly the most amusing item of the show comes on towards the end, called "The Amban and the Boat." The Amban is a Chinese official on tour, who enters the scene of operations with his staff, and engages in his judicial duties. Then a messenger arrives and presents him with a red paper, informing him that his wife is coming to meet him. The lady is seen in the distance advancing towards her lord in a rickety boat over a rough

13: Heber and Heber D<3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

CHAPTER XXIII

Introduction to the Hemis Mystery Play

A DESCRIPTION of life in Ladak could not be complete without an account of one of the great annual festivals held in the monasteries in the valley, such as the *Gustor* (the offering on the ninth) at Trigtse and at Spitug, or the *Ghanggoni Thsedrup* (the fulfilment of life on the blue hill) at Peang, all of which take place in the winter, whilst the *Thseshu* is held at Hemis in the summer. The last is the most important, its chief feature being the presentation of the famous so-called " mystery play." The festival, as its name indicates, is held on the tenth day of the fifth Buddhist month, which is the birthday of Padma Sambhava, the founder of Lamaism, and still the presiding genius of the red sect. According to records in Sikkim, he was a magician who came north in the seventh century, and convinced the lamas of Tibet that he was sent as an incarnation of the Buddha. But into the pure Buddhism, he introduces the old *Bon Chos* with its devil-worship, and encouraged the most sensual practices, also the eating of meat and drinking of wine, asserting that over-indulgence in all these passions would lead to a state of high trance. Strangely enough, when we were waiting in the ante-room on a visit to the *Skushog*, this sentiment was exactly borne out by a Ladaki, who was participating in the native beer and already in rather an expansive mood. To our remark that it was not right to get drunk and lose control of mind and body, he replied that it was good, for the soul then became happy and blessed.

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But local Europeans who know the Tibetans very well, such as the Moravian missionaries who live among them in the western part of Tibet, explain that, on the whole, they are not very passionate people, but rather cold. Certainly, their polyandrous institution has much to do with the repression of their natural feelings.

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Oddly enough, the Buddhist religion condemns not only polygyny and divorce, but also polyandry, and yet all Tibetans who are Buddhists practise it. Thus, it must be a pre-Buddhist custom. The Moslems, however (that is, those Tibetans who are converted to Mohammedanism) cease being polyandrous immediately and take to the Islamic polygynous system.

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There exists a very rare case of polyandry in Tibet which it has not yet been my privilege to come across, but of which I heard repeatedly in western Tibet. It is practised in a society which I understand exists in central Tibet around Lhasa and Gyantse. In these towns, the fathers and sons share one wife. One of the objects of my returning now, at the end of the year, to Tibet, is to meet a woman who is thus married to both father and sons. Such a [109] woman is known in Tibetan as a *tchama-doong*, which means "beam-mother-beam" a name derived from an analogy in the build of their houses. These have flat roofs, built over a number of beams, large transversal beams and others, which are smaller, going across them, and very small bits of wood which link the two together. When they call such a woman a *tchama-doong*, they mean she is comparable to a small beam, that she links the big beam with the small bits.

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It must not be imagined for a minute, of course, that this woman is the mother of the sons. But let us assume the case of a family in which there are a number of brothers, who have married one woman and have a number of offspring. If this mother dies, the fathers can either remarry and, in this case, the sons are entitled to share the stepmother with their fathers, or, if the sons are married when the mother dies, the fathers, instead of remarrying, are

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stinct and for the orderly social procreation of offspring. Formally, it is more difficult to say why this institution has taken on this curious appearance. As far as I know, authors so far have been rather at a loss to furnish a satisfactory explanation. Many, of course, have been given, with a great amount of variety in their choice.

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For instance, we are given historical explanations. In India they say people have been polyandrous for many centuries; that there are indications, such as archaeological (about the Heftalite Huns, 6th c. A.D.) and literary (the Indian epic poem, the Mahabarata), that the people in this area, both Aryan and non-Aryan, were polyandrous in antiquity. Economic reasons for this have been given; *i.e.*, that the country is poor, that nomadism among Todas or Tibetans, in earlier times, perhaps led to a polyandrous society in order to limit the number of children. Then, demographical explanations have been given, that there is an excess of males over females in this society, and that they have to be polyandrous for that reason. For instance, the Todas practise female infanticide and this is given as a reason for their polyandry. Their men drink a lot of milk, and some people say that the fact that they have more proteins in their diet in this fashion produces more male offspring than female. I do not pretend to know how far this biological explanation is true. Sociological reasons have also been given, namely, that the men travel and have to leave one brother at home with the wife (a reason which I hinted at earlier). In east and south India, the people known as the Nayars, who once could also be called polyandrous, had a very definite military organization (somewhat like that of the Sikhs in the north), and that has been given as a reason why a people is polyandrous: one brother can always remain at home with the wife while the other is away serving with the colors.

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It seems to me that these explanations are not sufficient. As far as the historical

24:Peter E-5 (1938)1963 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Ladak

3. *History*

174 Historically, Ladak seems to have been inhabited originally by emigrants from the plains, Indian in origin, whom the present day Ladakis call *Mon*. In central Tibet, this name is used for anything coming south of the Himalayas – thus *Mön-pa* (*Mon-pa*) for the inhabitants of Tawang, east of Bhutan, *Mön-la* for a pass leading to and from India, etc. There is every reason to believe then, that the Mons were simply people of Indian origin. They still exist in Ladak today, but are a very [101] lowly class of artisans and menials.

Prouder and physically very fine to look at, are the Dards, who appear to have occupied the country next. Herodotus calls them the most warlike of all the Indians, and we have seen that remnants of these fine people still exist in Ladak, at Dah. There is another settlement, but [101] Moslem, in Purig, just beyond the western boundary of Ladak, at Dras.

The Tibetans, of Mongol stock, were no doubt simultaneous emi- grants into the Ladak highlands with the Dards. The two races inter- [144] mingled and the less mongoloid appearance of the Ladaki as compared to the central Tibetan is no doubt a result of this inmixture. The Tibetan element, however, proved the strongest, and by the tenth century A.D., Tibetan chieftains were in command in various parts of Ladak. The first kings of Leh considered themselves as descendants of the mythical Tibetan king Gesar of Ling (*Ge-sar gLing-ki rGyal-po*).

175 Recorded history in Western Tibet really begins with the events con- 648 nected with the Tibetan king Langdarma (*gLang Dar-ma*) and his attempts to eradicate the growing influence of Buddhism (about 800 A.D.). Two of his grandsons, after the failure of their grandfather's apostasy, went west and founded kingdoms of their own in the wilderness of the Kashmir border. Their dynasty was known as that of the *Lha-chen* (*Lha Ch'hen*) "great god" kings, and lasted until one of their [63] descendants, Lha-chen Bhagan, founded the so-called Namgyal (*rNam-rGyal*) dynasty in 1470. The present kings of Ladak (*La-Dwags-ki rGyal-po*) still belong to this royal line.

The Ladaki monarchy was involved in many wars with its neighbours, particularly with the Baltis to the north-west, and with the Mongols who had settled in central Tibet in the 17th century. Imprudently, in 1646, Delegs Namgyal (*bDe-legs rNam-rGyal*) declared his support for Bhutan, of which country he considered himself to be the military protector, with the result that he suffered an invasion of Mongol troops. His appeal for help to Shah Jahan, then Moghul emperor of India, did not go unanswered, and the Mongols were expelled. Not without the